UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Churches Asked to End War

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Downfall of Militarism in Japan

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

The Contribution of Emil G. Hirsch to American Life

By S. D. SCHWARTZ

VOLUME XC NUMBER 18

Chicago, January 18, 1923

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

FRANK C. DOAN
CHARLES F. DOLE
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
HENRY R. MUSSEY
FRANCIS NEILSON
EDMUND H. REEMAN
ALSON H. ROBINSON
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
ANNA GARLIN SPENCER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Managing Editor

EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
JENKIN LL. JONES, Janesville. C. W. WENDTE, Cincinnati.
J. C. LEARNED, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBBINS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
GEO. W. COOKE, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

Editorial Contributors

Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
James Waldo Fawcett
Zona Gale
David Starr Jordan
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—Charles Strong
AUSTRIA—Stefan Zweig
BULGARIA—P. M. Matthéeff
CANADA—Sidney Snow
ENGLAND—Fred Hankinson
E. D. Morel
Walter Walsh
FRANCE—G. Demartial
Romain Rolland
INDIA—Rabindranath Tagore
RUSSIA—Alina Huebsch

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

UNITY Fellowship Associates

BOND OF UNION

We, the undersigned, believing in the association of all men and women who are in sympathy with the aims and ideals set forth in the Announcement printed November 3rd, 1921, do invite all who wish to co-operate to join in a world-wide fellowship that has no bounds of race or creed.

The name of this fellowship is The Unity Fellowship Associates and its purpose is the interpretation of the Religion of Democracy. Membership means a declaration of sympathy and interest. There are no dues. Members may make voluntary contributions which will be used for the purpose of making known the aims of the Fellowship and the publication of its literature.

UNITY will be the organ of this Fellowship and all members will be requested, though not compelled, to be subscribers.

Lists of the members will be sent to all members so that they may be known to one another. Local groups may be formed wherever there exists a sufficient number and there is the desire to do so.

All persons who desire to become members may do so by sending their names to UNITY, care of Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill.

Name .....

Address .....

- -

To UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY,
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find check for which please enter my subscription to UNITY for one year.

Mr. (Mrs. or Miss) _____

Address _____

Rates: $3.00 ($3.50 in Canada; $4.00 in other countries) for a year's subscription. Single copies 10 cents.

Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 275
The Churches Asked to End War.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 278
The Downfall of Militarism in Japan.—DAVID STARR JORDAN 279
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE—
Communism in Russia.—REV. SYDNEY STRONG 280
A Letter from Hawaii.—REV. CHARLES F. DOLE 281
ARTICLES—
The Contribution of Emil G. Hirsch to American Life.—S. D. SCHWARTZ 282
The Joy of Life. XXIII.—EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD 284
Great Britain and the Arab.—LUCIA AMES MEAD 284
THE STUDY TABLE—
The Orient.—FREDERICK STARR 285
CORRESPONDENCE—
News from Hungary.—BETHLÉN MP. PRIME MINISTER 286
The French Army.—DAVID STARR JORDAN.... 287
POETRY—
Samson Has the Temple.—*Angela Morgan*.... 275
"The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets."—*Frederick L. Hosmer* 283
THE FIELD—
Political Prisoners (*Concluded*).—*Social Service Bulletin* 287

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XC THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1923 Number 18

SAMSON HAS THE TEMPLE.

This stricken age a falling temple seems,
Doomed to disaster from our earliest dreams.
Our hopes are naught, our vision seems as dust,
Whirled by a judgment august, terrible.
We hear the timbers crashing overhead,
The walls drop plaster and we see the dead
Scattered in sudden silence at our feet.

Like pictures in a dream, a nightmare train—
Terror on terror holds our minds aghast,
Each bitter crime more cruel than the last.
The rafters tremble,—yea, and they must fall,
That we may see the Purpose underneath.
For Truth too long was prostrate on her breast
Whose treachery betrayed the sleeping guest.
Till we behold how Love and Justice rise,
Free as the air, untrammeled as the wind
Life must destroy the temple, built of lies!

—*Angela Morgan.*

From "Because of Beauty."

The news of the death of Dr. Emil G. Hirsch comes as a great shock, in spite of his long illness just after the war and his failing health since that time. Unity has already made arrangements for a fitting tribute to his memory in these columns which he honored for so many years by personal interest and endorsement, occasional articles and reviews, and the grace of his permanent membership on our list of Editorial Contributors. Here we would express our sense of irreparable loss at his passing, extend our sympathy to the family and to Sinai Temple, and pay our own reverent salutation to the illustrious dead. Rabbi Hirsch was the last of that long line of mighty preachers, beginning with Robert Collyer in the days before the Civil War, who brought fame and honor to Chicago, and made this city for a time the greatest center of prophetic pulpit utterance in America. Like his great contemporaries, Dr. Hirsch attained a distinction and exerted an influence for truth, civic righteousness and human brotherhood, which reached out beyond the borders of his city to the farthest corners of the land. The rival of any, either in Christian church or Jewish synagogue, for eloquence, learning, moral passion and spiritual vision, he was for years one of the outstanding figures in the nation's life. We like best to think of him, and we are sure that we most highly praise him, as one who maintained in this late day the noblest traditions of Israelitish prophecy. Nor would we forget the tie of friendship that bound him to our own beloved Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Comrades in arms, brothers in spirit, we are sure that in death, as in life, they are not divided.

When this editorial is printed, the European crisis will have broken; both in the Near East and in Germany, the die will have been cast. What will actually be taking place, no man can say; at this moment, one guess is as good as another, and no better. Our own guess is that England will have the oil that she wants in Mosul, and France will have the coal mines that she wants in the Ruhr. The people in England and France and elsewhere will of course have nothing, except the assurance that these imperialistic games are the guarantees of a "next war" in which they and their children will have the high privilege of fighting and dying once again. The diplomacy of Europe, except in Russia, is the same to-day that it has always been. The war, for all its horrid lessons, made no more impression upon our system of international ideas and practises than a flea-bite on the hide of a rhinoceros. When the "next war" comes we shall again be inexpressibly surprised and shocked, look hastily around to find the scape-goat to carry the blame of the catastrophe, as Germany was made to carry it in 1914, and then march heroically away to save the world to democracy and peace.

The present situation, so terrible in its implications for the future, gives new emphasis to the point upon which E. D. Morel is constantly laying stress in *Foreign Affairs* and in his public speeches, that men are never going to think straight on the war question and thus be equipped to protect themselves from future disaster, until they are made to understand the real causes of the Great War, and thus delivered from the myth of exclusive German responsibility. The average man to-day is being lulled into a false sense of security by holding constantly in his mind the following syllogism (1) Germany caused the war in 1914; (2) Germany was destroyed by the outcome of that war; (3) therefore, the danger of war has been removed, and permanent peace, in spite of difficulties and disappointments, is on the way! Now what is needed to-day, above all things else, is demonstration

to this average man that the war in 1914 was not caused by Germany at all in any exclusive sense, but by a system of economic imperialistic rivalry, aided and abetted by a secret and dishonest diplomacy and a cynical militarism, in which all the nations of Europe, Germany included, were more or less involved. Once this fact is made clear, it will then be possible to show that the defeat and subjugation of Germany accomplished nothing as regards the future prospects of war and peace. The same system that was at work before the war is at work to-day, and is bound sooner or later to produce the same results. Every day and in every way, in 1923 exactly as in 1913, the world is getting more and more tangled up in that snarl of international conpetition for political and economic power which must eventually be cut, like the Gordian knot, by the edge of the sword. It is the German myth, therefore, that must be gotten rid of. As long as men cherish that comfortable devil theory, they will not be disturbed by what England and France are now doing, and the work will go on without interference, to its dreadful end.

President Harding suggests that all aliens be registered. The Secretary of Labor, whose name for the life of us we cannot remember, insists that aliens receive compulsory instruction concerning the blessings of our great Republic—in other words, that they be submitted to the famous process known as "Americanization." We beg to amend and extend these recommendations! Let all aliens be thumb-printed. Let them then be branded on the forehead with their initials and an official serial number. Let them be tatooed on arms and chest with the flag of the country of their origin and, in much larger and more impressive design, the flag of the United States. Let them be clothed in an official uniform, like the Robots in Kapek's play, and let it be made a crime, punishable by hanging and quartering, for any alien to appear in public without his uniform. In the case of suspicious characters or offenders against the laws of the state, let them be ringed through the nose, like a bull, and chained at night to stakes in herding quarters. Let there be enacted an alien curfew law requiring all aliens to be off the streets from six o'clock at night to six o'clock the next morning.. Gatherings of aliens, for any purpose other than religious exercises, should be strictly forbidden, for where two or three are gathered together, there is conspiracy in the midst of them. Once in so often every alien should be required to report to a public official—a judge or police magistrate—recite the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution without stopping, do a perfect "spread-eagle," kiss the flag, and undergo a mental test for loyalty. Any alien failing in this examination should be stripped naked, flogged in public, and deported (if still alive) to the land from which he came. This alien menace is serious, my fellow-countrymen! Half-measures cannot be trusted to meet the emergency. Let us be thorough-going, and thus save our beloved country to liberty and the brotherhood of man.

In a personal letter from our editorial associate, Dr. Charles F. Dole, now in Honolulu, we read a reference to our political prisoners still incarcerated in Leavenworth, which we feel that we must share with our readers. He says:

> I am much concerned for the political prisoners. Reluctant as I am about putting on outward symbols of distress, I am asking myself seriously whether it wouldn't be well for all of us who feel as we do, to assume some badge of our sorrow and shame? For instance, would it not be a justifiable course to wear a gray or black band on the sleeve of the right arm with a slight legend, like this—"In shame for the treatment of our political prisoners." I have even asked myself whether . . . I could do better than to put on a sack-cloth kind of garment and spend a period in Washington, partly visiting officials and partly on the streets of the city, in giving my testimony in behalf of these men.

Here is feeling so noble as to partake of the sublime. If one tenth of the people in this country had one tenth particle of such feeling, these prisoners would long since have been freed. Nor is this merely an expression of emotion on Mr. Dole's part. It is a program so excellent as to have scripture for its authority. For was it not the prophet Isaiah who lifted up in the public places of Jerusalem "a great tablet," bearing upon it the inscription, "*For Maher-shalal-hashbaz*" (the spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth), as a warning to the king and all his people? We are ourselves not yet satisfied that ordinary political methods for the release of the prisoners have been tried to the very end. There are well-authenticated reports that some twenty of these unhappy men are soon to be released. But if all methods are at last tried in vain, we believe we shall be a white-livered generation if we do not follow the example of Isaiah and the counsel of Mr. Dole. Who of us can sleep o'nights with the thought of these prisoners who are "wounded for our transgressions" and "bruised for our iniquities."

The most popular dramatist in New York to-day is a man by the name of William Shakespeare, creditably reported to be an Englishman by birth and an author of some repute in his native country. The metropolis now witnesses the amazing spectacle of no less than three plays by this man Shakespeare on the boards at one and the same time, with other productions promised in the near future. Thus John Barrymore is acting a tragedy called "Hamlet," which tells the story of a certain prince of Denmark; his sister (Barrymore's, not Hamlet's!), Ethel, is playing another tragedy entitled "Romeo and Juliet," described as a touching love story of medieval Italy; David Warfield is doing a comedy called "The Merchant of

Venice," which raises the Jewish issue, by the way, at a rather unfortunate time; while a rival performance of "Romeo and Juliet" by Jane Cowl, and performances of "Macbeth" and "Othello," other tragedies by this same prolific author, are soon to be seen. It is natural that a great deal of comment should be stirred by the sudden and conspicuous success of this one dramatist. He seems to be outclassing in a single season all other playwrights of the time. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that he flies straight in the face of the realism which is now the dominant note in our theatres. Thus his dramas are costume plays, set in uncertain periods of the past, built on large, heroic and rather stilted lines, and written in blank verse. We had been told that the poetic drama was gone for good—and, lo and behold, here it is back again! It is to be said, of course, that Shakespeare seems to have real poetic talent, an insight into character, and no fear at all of telling a robust and even somewhat melodramatic tale. His popularity therefore is not wholly unaccountable, and is probably something more than a mere flash in the pan. We should not be surprised, indeed, if Shakespeare's work lasted for some time among us.

There is a pregnant word in Leo Tolstoy's "My Religion," which sums up the whole truth of what the church is, and long has been, in relation with the world. Says the great Russian (Crowell edition, 1899, page 247)—

> The Church has surrendered to the world, and having surrendered, simply follows it. The world does as it pleases, and *leaves to the Church the task of justifying its actions with explanations as to the meaning of life.* The world has organized its life in absolute opposition to Christ's teaching, and *the Church has devised allegories whereby it might be proved that men living contrary to Christ's teaching really live in accordance with it.*

There was a time when the Church set and imposed moral standards for the world; this was in the early days when the Church had courage and ideals, and was uncorrupted by temporal ambitions and not yet drugged by dogmatic theology. The spacious days of St. Ambrose! But all this has long since passed away. The world to-day, as Tolstoy says, does what it most wants to do, and dictates to the church the task of finding moral excuses for its deeds. Thus the world supported slavery, and the church searched the scriptures for texts to support the institution. The world dedicates itself to making money by systems of economic exploitation at home and economic imperialism abroad, and the church busies itself in proving that this service of Mammon is in reality the highest service of God. The world prepares for war and goes to war—and the church does its "bit" by demonstrating that Jesus was a warrior, and that when he said "love your enemies," he really meant hate them, disembowel them with bayonets, blow them up with bombs. There is an old maxim to the effect that the Devil quotes scripture to suit his purpose. This used to be true, no doubt, but it is true no longer; for it is the church and not his Satanic Majesty that now does this pleasant and profitable work.

The following letter, sent out from the rectory of an old and famous church in New York, has been widely distributed:

CALVARY RECTORY
103 East Twenty-First Street
New York

A PATHETIC APPEAL TO THE DWELLERS ABOUT GRAMERCY PARK.

With Apologies to All Whom It Does Not Concern.

For fifteen years I have been Rector of the American Church in Rome. The fear of losing contact with my native land has brought me back home for a winter,—and here I am at Calvary Church, having exchanged pastorates for this brief time with the Rector of this parish.

From the Rectory I look out pensively upon Gramercy Park and wonder why so few of the many who live hereabout come to my Church. In Rome I am used to seeing all Americans come to my Church, without respect to creed, color, or previous condition of denominational servitude. I know that so much freedom is not commonly used over here, but I wonder if it might not now be possible and I reflect that if any Church were to be fixed upon for uniting *all the people in this neighborhood* it could be *no other than this Church.* The idea of a Community Church is very much "in the air." Unfortunately it seems to stay there, but obviously it could be realized here if any considerable number of people would take an interest in it.

This is what I have in my mind when I look out pensively upon Gramercy Park. Unfortunately it is not our custom to permit the stranger to call first, as we do in Italy, and I am told that a hint of my willingness to call would afright the many people who associate the visit of the Parson exclusively with the obsequies for the dead.

So I am left to wonder how, as a stranger in my native land, I am ever going to get to know anybody and how such an idea as that of the Community Church can be "got across" to the neighborhood. Without well knowing what to do or say, I make this pathetic appeal and propose to carry it from door to door. The pathos of the situation lies partly in the fact that in this spacious Church there are always many vacant seats, while I hear of photographers taking pictures of the crowds that struggle in vain to gain entrance to Churches in more favored neighborhoods. I do not like to advertise that "this church is free and all are welcome," for in practice that seems to have the effect of keeping people away. I would rather say that here sublime mysteries are revealed to those who seek initiation. Apologetically,

Walter Lowrie.

This document needs no comment. We simply express our wonder as to what is to become of Protestantism when such words cannot only be written but published. Let some of our unctious optimists, who talk so much about the prosperity of our churches, put this wonder of ours to confusion. We would be happy if they could!

The Churches Asked to End War

On January 3rd last, through the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the following appeal to the churches of America was given to the public:

The present situation in international affairs, involving as it does the imminent peril of war, must give concern to every thoughtful Christian. After a devastating conflict which has cost millions of lives, created immeasurable hatred and piled up a debt of fifty dollars for every minute of time since Christ was born, the nations of the earth, apparently having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, are once more playing the old game of competitive imperialism and competitive armament. The Church of Christ was severely blamed for the occurrence of the last war. That the Gospel should have been so long on earth and yet should not have prevented the great catastrophe with all its hideous cruelty and suffering was a charge against the church so serious that all thoughtful ministers felt its force and were driven defensively to meet it. Even more will another war bring down upon the Church of Christ the charge of moral cowardice and fatal inefficiency.

Yet another war is being prepared in the vindictive hatreds, the nationalistic ambitions, the schemes of racial and imperial self-aggrandizement which mark the world's international relationships. The spirit of good-will and sincere co-operation for the welfare of mankind as a whole is so lamentably weak, is so openly scoffed at in influential quarters, and expectations of war are so freely voiced and preparations for it so frankly pushed, that another war is inevitable unless a better mind can speedily prevail.

There are some among us, of whom the signatories of this appeal form a small group, who regard war as the most ruinous organized sin which mankind now faces; who are sure that the war system and the Christian Gospel cannot permanently abide together on the same earth; who see clearly that the spirit of war and the spirit of the Gospel are antithetical, the one representing what the other hates and would destroy; who recognize that war is futile as a means of furthering Christ's Kingdom, even where the end sought is righteous and where the spirit of the combatants is sacrificial.

Our position in this appeal does not involve theoretical pacifism; we are not concerned to deny the necessity of using force, massed force, it may be, in an emergency, nor of a moderate military organization for defensive purposes.

But the war system is not an appeal to force in an emergency—it is a long drawn out and deliberate preparation for the use of every known means of cruel and collective destruction. It rests upon the assumption that the welfare of one people involves the ruin of another and it plans far ahead of the event to be able to compass that ruin. It represents the deliberate organization of the world into isolated and armed peoples, suspicious of each other, hating each other, waiting to fall upon each other, instead of sanely co-operating peoples finding the best interests of all fulfilled in a decent, peaceable, and reasonable fellowship.

We will not believe that mankind is so deficient in character and intelligence as to make the rational solution of our international problems impossible and to commit us to the continued rule of insane fear, hatred, and collective destruction. And we are certain that unless the Church of Christ takes now a clear and consistent stand on this matter of life and death to our civilization and to the world she will merit the contempt of men and the judgment of God.

We therefore urge all the people of the churches, and all ministers in particular, to an outspoken declaration that the war system and the Gospel of Christ are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed. We urge that without delay this crisis of decision between war and Christ be unmistakably recognized and stated. We would have every Christian church the centre of a frank and courageous antagonism to war and everything that makes war, until in our own country and in all lands we succeed in reinstating Christian loyalty to Christ, where it belongs—far above all local prejudice, racial hatred, and divisive nationalism.

We are convinced that no question faces the people of God more crucial than this, and we have thought it worth while to make this appeal in the hope that our conviction might be shared by the general body of the Church of Christ.

We print this statement in full because it revives anew within our heart the fading hope that the churches may still be made to do something effective to abolish war. Signed by such men as William J. Bryan, Frank A. Vanderlip, George W. Wickersham, Cardinal O'Connell, Nehemiah Boynton, Prof. Irving Fisher, Bishop Thomas F. Gailor, Shailer Mathews, Mary E. Wooley, John R. Mott, Kenyon L. Butterfield, and others, it is a document of exceptional significance.

Note, please, that we have presented here a perfectly clear and unequivocal confession that the Great War was a failure. For all its incalculable expenditure of men and money and sacrificial energy, it accomplished nothing. Exactly as the pacifists prophesied on the basis of immutable and by no means esoteric or hidden principles of life, the nations "learned nothing" from the war, and "have forgotten nothing" of what was before the war. Today exactly as yesterday they are "playing the old game of competitive imperialism and competitive armament." To have this fact now recognized and publicly confessed is a great gain.

It is to be noted, in the second place, that these facts are not only seen, but their significance recognized. These ardent supporters of the last war, in other words, are now ready to admit that this war did not end war. On the contrary, after all the fighting and all the peace-making, "another war is being prepared." Indeed, it is conceded that "another war is inevitable unless a better mind can speedily prevail."

But this is not all! The signers of this appeal actually go so far as to declare their conviction—recently acquired, no doubt—that "war is . . . sin." They are at last "sure that the war-system and the Christian Gospel cannot permanently abide together on the same earth." They even "see clearly that the spirit of war and the spirit of the Gospel are antithetical, the one representing what the other hates and would destroy."

Just why, after such sweeping declarations, these men and women should take pains to point out that their "position does not involve theoretical pacifism," is difficult to understand. For what on earth is pacifism, theoretical or otherwise, if not the affirmation that "war is sin," and that "the spirit of war and the spirit of the Gospel are antithetical"? Can it be that these persons, Christians all, are not willing to bear the opprobrium which still attaches in the public mind to pacifism—in other words, not willing to meet the consequences of their opinions, as did certain other Christians, not unheard of, who faced an empire in arms and accepted death rather than denial or evasion? Or is it that these men and women find a certain embarrassment in joining company with those who knew all these things years ago, and said them when they

were really worth saying? Or is there a chance, which God forbid, that these signers of a stirring declaration do not really mean what they say, and therefore considerately shun company with those who *do* mean what they say—namely, pacifists? There is something ominously disquieting about the statement that "we are not concerned to deny the necessity of using force, massed force, it may be, in an emergency, nor of a moderate military organization for defensive purposes." These are "weasel words"—admirably calculated to give excuse for turning a peace-maker into a war-maker at a moment's notice. Talk about emergencies!—1914 was an "emergency," was it not? All these men and women thought it an "emergency" which necessitated "force, massed force," and would probably regard a similar "emergency" in the future as necessitating force again. But what did this use of force accomplish? Nothing—worse than nothing! Nor would it accomplish anything a second time, for these very persons in this same document declare that "war is futile as a means of furthering Christ's Kingdom even where the end sought is righteous." To include such reservations in such a statement is a disgrace, and can avail nothing except to save the faces of those who, in an "emergency" do not propose to practice what they preach.

But we would forget, or at least ignore, this repudiation of pacifism. The appeal to the churches, as it stands in its main features, is good enough pacifism for us. It is what UNITY has been contending for during many years, and eagerly commends now to all the churches. It is high time that something of this kind were done to convert Christians to their own gospel. May this appeal achieve something to this end.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Downfall of Militarism in Japan

During my late visit to Japan, several matters of world interest took place. Most conspicuous of these was the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Siberia, the feeding by the Japanese at Gensan in Korea of a host of "white Russian" refugees from Vladivostok, the abandonment of Tsing-tao and the rest of Shantung, the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Hankow and elsewhere in China, the scrapping of ships and the release of some 30,000 men from the navy.

The general motives for these acts are found in the popular recognition of the failure and the danger involved in militarism.

Sixty years ago Japan suddenly emerged from the Feudal System, under which the real governor of the nation was the head of the army. By way of compromise the constitution provided that each Cabinet should contain a general and an admiral, and military action was distinctly outside the control of civil authority. It was the military which overrode the civil in Korea, inciting a bitter and futile revolt. It was the military in Count Okuma's ministry which "put over" the "twenty-one demands" on China, demands freely denounced in Japan as "infamous," but which, apparently, the Prime Minister was too proud to disown, though contrary to his own avowed and actual policy. It was the military group in 1914, who tried to force Japan into siding with Germany, a purpose thwarted by the resolute firmness of Okuma, who would not consider for a moment breaking faith with Great Britain.

The essential reasons for withdrawal of troops from Siberia and China are found in the following:

1. The enormous expense involved in imperialistic ventures. Japan is poor and overtaxed, and the cost of living is three or four times what it used to be. The money wasted at Vladivostok and Tsing-tao is badly needed for internal improvements, especially the desire to give Tokyo and Osaka what these huge cities have never had, sewers, paved streets, subways, sidewalks and adequate markets.

2. The capitalists in general are in favor of retrenchment. Imperialism and war mean waste of property and bankers do not favor waste.

3. The intellectuals for the most part discourage these ventures. These men, educated in the admirable imperial universities or else in America or England, have the ideas current in the world of science. One of the strongest influences for conciliation and peace is found in the men and women, some two thousand in number, educated in universities of America and Britain. In Tokyo alone are sixty graduates of Stanford, professors, engineers and business men, equally loyal to their nation and their alma mater.

4. Public opinion of England and America has great weight in Japan, in so far as it is understood and discriminated from yellow journalism and the ranting of "professional roughnecks." The Japanese were led to believe that sober friends regretted these adventures, into both of which they were led by their allies. They were asked to replace the Germans in China and to safeguard the Tchecko-Slovaks in Siberia. But they held on after the curtain was let down.

5. The military men themselves are coming to believe that they "backed the wrong horse" and that Germany, after all, was not the model of a successful nation. Most of these men are sincere patriots, seeking only the welfare of Japan as they understood it. But the people no longer trust their judgment. The changed condition has been frankly met by the prime minister, Admiral Kato, the head of the Navy, who

sees that as "a great naval power," Japan is putting a heavy mortgage on her future.

6. The Japanese government has given its pledge to withdraw, and though administrations change, its word is sacred. No "Gentlemen's Agreement" has been violated by Japan.

To Japan the Washington Conference came as a blessed boon. It dispelled all fear of the United States, and paved the way for the reduction of waste and the abatement of taxation.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Communism in Russia

I may say that the way into Russia is not yet easy. This is just as much the fault of outsiders as of Russia. If Russia were recognized by America, Britain and France—as she is sure to be in time (why most governments take good steps a day too late, is a mystery) travel and traffic would soon begin to flow unimpeded. Ordinarily to enter Russia one must have a definite reason for going (there is no place for the tourist yet) and must begin operations a month before starting. He might as well get two dozen photographs of his handsome face at the beginning, for the Russian application will demand four, and the visas of several lands between him and the promised land must be accompanied with pictures.

There are at least three ways to travel from Berlin to Moscow, one by Stettin and Petrograd, involving a three day boat ride on the Baltic. This was my route in and I heartily recommend it for convenience and comfort. Another is by Riga and involves passing through the Polish corridor (one of the relics of the butcher-peace makers at Versailles). Lithuania and Lathvia and all these small nations have front doors and back doors, each involving custom examinations or passport investigations, at any unreasonable hour of day or night. I came from Moscow to Berlin by the second route. It took four and one-half days. A third way is through Warsaw. I did not hear of many going this way: possibly because Russians and Poles are like ancient Jews and Samaritans, who did not enjoy dealings with each other. The fare between the two cities is about $25.00.

Now I am back from Moscow. What are my impressions? It would be easy and perhaps most pertinent to say that Moscow is not Russia; also why expect to know much of a great city, or great land, in a month's time? But these impressions—such as they are—I give, perhaps not all in this letter, but some of them. I confess that during the first three of four days in Moscow, I felt as helpless as a child. I literally did not know the alphabet, and I could not tell whether a sign over a door meant beer, barber or restaurant. It is a new sensation to be a child again. It humbles one to see little urchins better equipped for navigation: yet it makes one keen on learning. When I landed in Moscow I was especially interested in learning about relief, education, social life, constructive work for peace and the working of a communistic government. I learned a lot about these things and am willing to share all the knowledge I have. I wish to tell you about the "Tolstoyan Group" I met, but in another letter.

I was keen on inquiring about the evidences of Communism. Practically every Communist I asked made the same reply, namely, "there is not any: it's in the mind." He was not joking. He meant that Communism was the program, to be realized in the future, but at present there was no Communism. It was difficult for me to explain this almost stereotyped response. Perhaps, it is because this "retreat" toward a capitalist state has been such a long one that they mean, there is not enough Communism worth mentioning. I told some of the Communists that I could see more evidences of Communism than they could.

Unquestionably the dominant economic feature of Russia today is the state as the governing capitalist. The state owns all the major values, and while private capital is allowed, even encouraged, yet the state has the whip hand, just as the Standard Oil has the whip hand when it owns the main pipe lines.

What evidences did I find of Communism? In the first place, the complete obliteration of titles, suggesting superiority. In fact the word "comrade" was almost universally used. It is safe to say that practically everyone is addressed as "comrade" or "citizen." There may not be much in a name; yet there may be. The deluge that washed away even plain "Mr.," to say nothing of "czar," "count," "general" etc., must have a profound effect in favor of a communistic spirit. The head of the Red Army is addressed everywhere as "Comrade Trotsky." The ribbons and geegaws of militarism have disappeared. This fact I like immensely.

I found what I interpreted as a strong communistic spirit in the way that workers in factories, in governmental departments, work, voted and generally lived together. For example, I dined with a friend in a commune or community house. The great house was practically given over to the workers—all grades—of the factory where they worked. He and his wife had their own rooms—as did others—but there was one or more stoves in common. A school was maintained in the building. There was a recreation room. The dwellers of the house not infrequently came together for matters of common interest. The spirit and expression of the house was obviously communistic.

I had the same impression when I participated in an election. General political elections were held when I was in Moscow. A friend, in the foreign office, invited me to witness one. I met him, according to arrangement, at 2 o'clock in the big outside court. It took about half an hour for the workers in the foreign office to assemble. They came out of all doors. Among them I recognized the head of the American section, also the scrub-woman I had seen in the hall. The two hundred fell into marching line, 2 or 3 abreast, and so marched through the streets for ten minutes, to a hall that had been secured for the election. At this hall we waited until about 2,000 people assembled, coming from 20 different organizations; needle workers, bank clerks, etc. The whole affair seemed to me to breathe with the spirit of, "we are all comrades, working, voting together." In the conduct of the electors, which occupied two hours, there

was a spirit of fairness and justice that would have done honor to the traditions of English justice.

The facts are, that of the 100,000 University students of Moscow 60 per cent are named by the trade unions and 30 per cent by other organizations of workers; that practically all the property—the essential property in Russia—is owned by the state or municipality; that Marxian economics are taught everywhere, in university, in army, in schools; that in Russia, which has experienced several upheavals with probably more to come, there have been many instances of "leveling-up" (as for example the marrying of bishops as significant as the marrying of Martin Luther, and holds a "reformation" in itself); that workers only are permitted to vote, that workers are now occupying the palaces and houses of the old nobility. These facts and others seemed to me to be evidences that Russia is today as strongly communistic as it is possible for her to be, that agencies are at work, in school, factory, and even army, that would produce in a generation, a communistic society—one one of a dead social level—but one in which all must work, in which the worker only is recognized, in which all would receive accordingly to just needs: a society in which production and distribution would be controlled for the good of the community.

Moscow, Russia. SYDNEY STRONG.

A Letter from Hawaii

Greetings to all the readers of UNITY, and a Christmas wish that all of them may sometime come out and see Honolulu! There is nothing more beautiful to gladden the heart of man. Does anyone expect a future life to be more wonderful than this life and this earth are at their best? Someone indeed has written: "Where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." But that is theology and a very audacious theology; it is not poetry nor truth. Come out here from anywhere, and treat any of these polyglot people, Chinese, Hawaiians, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Portuguese and the others, as you think Americans ought to be treated, and see if they do not give you their best selves—kindly, courteous, hospitable and quite human. They do not appear to suffer from race prejudice. Let the man who calls them "vile" ask what is viler in human beings than contempt, suspicion, distrust, fear, arrogance and the like! This is not to praise everyone alike, or to pretend that the people out here are as good as their fruit and flowers and glorious views.

There is one sight here that is offensive, and it queers the whole island. It is an ugly sight to a reader or editor of UNITY. This is the manifest fact that the island is a great fortification, as near Gibraltar as anything that the American nation owns. Wherever you turn, you see soldiers and sailors. There are thousands of them in the various fortified points and barracks—behind the tunneled lava mass of the splendid old crater of Diamond Head, and beyond the pineapple fields of Wahiawa, wherever the army engineers choose to stow soldiers and guns. The money of the people has dug out a great naval basin at Pearl Harbor. You see their airplanes flying over the sugar plantations. The mischief of all this is that everyone takes this display as a part of the scenery. Few, if any, raise the question *why* we, the American people, maintain this frightful system. No one seems to ask what good it does; no one asks what harm it does; no one thinks that it represents the survival of the most tremendous barbarism of all the ages, that it serves, and is intended to serve, as a menace and threat to a nation of people who naturally like to live as friends with us.

Honolulu is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. It is called "the Cross-Roads of the Pacific." Visitors come and go on every steamer to and from all the ports and the capitals of the earth. Distinguished travelers, scholars, diplomatists, masters of business, meet here. You would think that the prevailing social atmosphere in the town would be as generous and cosmopolitan as is the complexion of the varied population who come and go and do business; you would expect a magnanimous view of all international questions. It is quite possible, however, that the prevailing thought and opinion here tend to be distinctly provincial. The big garrison, the forts, and the battleships, and especially the ancient system of warfare which they all represent, emphasize a narrow, fearsome and imperialistic nationalism, still insisting upon the traditions of a quarreling world. Does the prosperous group of able and most estimable Americans, who constitute "good society" here, begin as yet to understand what that new and incoming spirit of international brotherhood is, which no longer thinks in terms of war and brute force? On the contrary, it is possible that from the very fact of holding an outpost between the continents they are disposed on the whole to settle down into a rather more timid, conservative, bigoted, and provincial form of nationalism than their own kind of men affect in the commercial centers of the Middle West. Do they not suffer from the same pitiful limitation, that marks men who hold power quite beyond their growth of character, which, for example, imprisons President Harding's soul, and in the case of the political prisoners makes his conduct as cruel as if he had lived in the fifteenth century? What is so fatal to any human being as the possession of power over his fellows—money power or political, it matters not?

These remarks bear closely on the question of questions, namely, what signs are there in the sky of a new will on the part of those who help to make the public opinion of the world, as regards the putting away of the war system from among the nations. One must be a sanguine observer to detect any signs of a fresh and living gospel among the familiar brilliance of the Christmas decorations. "Peace on earth?" Yes! Everyone says this, but the peace in the minds of the good people is mainly the *status quo*. They are thinking of the security of the comfortable institutions which enable the American nation to hold the reputation of being the richest people in the world. They think of a security founded on superior force; they think of a safety that maintains the customary jails and prisons, and regards the support of war and navy departments, like churches, as a regular form of life insurance. To how many people has it ever occurred, even as a dream, that we might have a safe and "Merrie Christmas," if we chose, without an enemy in the world—safer than we have now—if we dismantled all our forts and sunk our war ships in the

sea? Who shall show this vision to a new generation? The readers of UNITY ought to know that very few persons who are enjoying Christmas today harbor an eager will to "outlaw war" from the earth. Nevertheless, as sure as God is, no religion is worth talking about, which has not the heart and the will to take this new task in hand.

Honolulu,
Christmas, 1922.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

The Contribution of Emil G. Hirsch to American Life

It is not often that the full expression of an age may find sound and vocalization in an individual, nor is it a frequent phenomenon that an epoch may take on value and significance from the interpretation and definition of that epoch rendered by one man. American Israel has, to a great degree, come to consciousness and power through the potent leadership of Dr. Emil G. Hirsch. When the history of American Judaism and its contribution to the thought-life of America shall have been written, then will be revealed the full influence of the distinguished occupant of Sinai's pulpit on the conceptions of the new day. For more than a generation, Dr. Hirsch stood on the highest peak of vision, in an epoch of American life characterized by a ruthless sense of freedom from responsibility and the conquest of matter by force. He was among the very few who helped crystallize the new expression of a religion, which for centuries has withstood the blandishments of false friends and the torture-horrors of enemies, a religion whose sublime ethics constitute the very pillars of a moral universe.

To us, standing on the pedestal of the centuries, and, therefore, with sweep of vision, able to encompass the forces of history which have given scope and meaning to that chapter of time in which we live, to us has come the realization that progress must spell heights to which our civilization may soar, rather than a mere dream of past aspirations. The lofty precepts of our own Jewish religion, with its insistence on freedom and responsibility and consecration to a free moral life, must become the dominant note of the new civilization. To quote Dr. Hirsch's own words:

"For what would be man, if he had no rights? A slave he might be. What boot would there be to own the torch of intelligence, yet not to have the right to allow its light to illumine a path self-chosen? A slave is not a man, even if he had, like Epictetus of old, a mind as keen as that which comes to genius alone, even if there be within him, like that of the misshapen Roman slave, a soul answering whatever music of the heavens filled the earth, even if his be a purpose as strong as that of him who struck the rock and forced it to give water, or stamped the desert and compelled it to become a paradise. What boot to him intelligence of love if another man's will decides what he shall do, if another man's word commands whether he shall sing or sigh, shout or shriek, shrink or shunt —what to him is freedom of mind, is intimacy with stars and sun, with flowers and ferns, with rocks and rivers, with blades and blossoms if another man can order him about, now to this, anon to another task, now to the book opened, now to the scroll clasped? What boot to him if in his soul there tingle and ring the call 'Thou shalt, thou oughtst'—if another man bids him do or not do. Without rights, and rights to your own life, rights to your own property, rights to your own name, rights to your own reputation, rights to your own self-decision how to shape life and what career to follow, human life would be not little less than God's but much less than the beast's."

The spirit of today, that *Weltanschauung* of the new world in which we live, is not that of yesterday. Whether we will or not as thinking human beings, we must admit that a new philosophy is not only essential to a rational understanding of life, but that a life of uplook and outlook is impossible without such a new philosophy. For the new contributions of Science in every field of endeavor and the studies in human evolution have made the old position and conception of life untenable. Science, with its magic key, has unlocked the door of life and revealed possibilities never before known. Science has granted the realization of that glorious vision, which throughout the ages has always haunted man with dreams of fitful splendor. America, with its vast and unbounded material resources, granted primacy to him who achieved success in terms of acquisitive values. In the breaking away from the moorings of the past, accent and emphasis were placed upon a possessive individualism, intolerant of all save utility and utilitarian values, and deaf to all of the higher promptings of the heart—promptings which lift man from the level of cave and jungle. The fruits of such a creed at last came to a climax in the recent great international debauch, with its complete moral and spiritual breakdown.

Standing on the high watch-peak of the age, with prophetic insight, Emil G. Hirsch proclaimed the old Judaic message of duty and consecration to the higher tasks of humanity. The language of the market-place—the language of those dulled to every sense of higher perception and conception, he sought in season and out of season, to translate into the language of eternity and poesy—the poesy of faith—faith in human freedom and human personality. He undertook to free the human spirit from the thralldom of dogma, whether that dogma be in the domain of religious, economic, political or social despotism. Emil G. Hirsch sought to make not the clink of ducats, the low simplicities of bank deposits and bank resources, expressive of moral evaluations, but the speech of the heart, the yearning of man for fellow-man in worship and service. His cardinal concept, his dominant note, was Humanity. "One man," he repeatedly stated, "is no man." The old doctrine of individualism and individual rights, with a few favored ones at the top, and the masses buried in the profundities of despair and darkness, must give way to a humanity pillared on love and devotion and service, with duty as the great sacrament.

To a world wedded as it was, and still is in many quarters, to the notion that religion and science are incompatible with each other, that these two departments of thought are foes who cannot pact with each other, Dr. Hirsch was, with the courage of the pioneer, foremost among those who showed in fullest measure how rather than enemies, both religion and science are complementary to each other in the understanding of human life and destiny. He repeated again and again that no possible investigation of tradition or fact can disprove the fundamentals of religion, i.e., the consecration of man to his fellow-man

and to his God. To him religion and science both spelled in equal measure the search for God. The exploded theories of the rationalist school which sought to banish from the world all but their own imaginary excogitations, substituting for a belief in God the divinity of their own ego, Dr. Hirsch answered in no uncertain words:

"Thousand voices and not from the swamps of thought, but from the Alps of reflection—thousand tongues, not from the ignorant but from the wise—not from the blind, but from the seers, have intoned again the jubilant affirmation: 'God is,' a God more sublime than he to whom altars were built and sacrifices were brought and prayers were sung and hymns were chanted, a God for whom the human heart is a sanctuary."

A teacher in Israel who sought to make the Jewish melody of life with its noble ideals and sublime precepts live in the hearts of men, Emil G. Hirsch indeed brought to his age a message. At a time when men have so far forgotten themselves as to think that might makes right, that material power spells success, the voice of the great teacher, raised above the din of the battlefield, where men struggle in sordid contention, recognizing but the right of the stronger to crush the weaker, he shouted forth the clarion call of Duty. "Wherever the right of property clashes with a duty to humanity the former has no credentials that are entitled to consideration. Where wealth is rooted in the ruin or the degradation of men, it is an usurper that should be accorded the shortest shrift. Moloch competition shall never feed on human sacrifices. A civilization and a liberty that allow this idol to exact this precious tribute are barbarous."

To American Israel, Dr. Hirsch stood as the champion of thought in religion. Without doubt he was the foremost leader in helping the Jew in America to find himself and become aware of his great heritage. Ages of Ghetto life and Ghetto suffering have left upon the Jew a mark not easily eradicated. The bright light of the new spirit of freedom has in many instances blinded the Jew in America to the priceless treasures in his own jewel-casket of Judaism. His heart has been receptive to appeals winged forth by other creeds—appeals which his own religion has vocalized, but to which he has turned a deaf ear because forsooth to him it comes with a Ghetto intonation. To remove Ghetto limitations, to abolish the restrictions which the affliction and torments of the Jewish pale born of Christian bigotry and fanaticism engendered, was the great contribution of Dr. Hirsch to American Israel. To the negative life which Ghetto existence implied, the leader of Sinai Temple attempted and attempted successfully to bring the positive values of free and creative thought, unfettered by strictures which deaden and hamper the building of a home for the human spirit making of life and religion a thing of joy and beauty.

Dr. Emil G. Hirsch was a genius. His was a mind and soul well balanced. He belonged to a band of intellectual giants, whose impassioned labors have stamped themselves upon our civilization for all time. Religion—the highest and deepest expression of man's yearning for fellow-man, was his chosen field, wherein he sought to make his contribution to the world. Religion—the search of man for God, was the channel of Life through which he expressed the full power of his genius. Another man with his mind might have attempted the profession of law or medicine or science, where the work is perhaps in many ways more spectacular, nay, even sensational. Not so with this gifted man. His laboratory was the human heart and his instrument the soul of man. He searched the universe for God and found him—found him in the soul of man—a God whom the universe is far too small to contain but who may be encompassed by the human heart. To this thought and conviction he dedicated his energies and supreme talent for interpretation.

What Dr. Hirsch meant to the thousands who for many years sat at his feet to hear him is not for us to say. They alone know what this man, kissed by the gift of genius, meant to them. But we who knew him, we to whom he expounded life and religion and destiny, feel our lives richer and deeper in immeasurable compass, because ours was the supreme experience of love born of friendship. Gone though he be from our midst, his life and his work will abide. A philosophy of life such as he taught cannot die. In the days to come, when heaviness of spirit may be upon us, we shall take heart, for the star of consolation will shine in the orb of hope to remind us of the light kindled by our beloved teacher, Emil G. Hirsch.

S. D. Schwartz,
Executive Director, Sinai Social Center.

"THE GOODLY FELLOWSHIP OF THE PROPHETS."

From age to age how grandly rise
The prophet souls in line!
Above the passing centuries
Like beacon-lights they shine.

Through differing accents of the lip
One message they proclaim,
One growing bond of fellowship,
Above all names one Name.

They witness to one heritage,
One Spirit's quickening breath,
One widening reign, from age to age,
Of freedom and of faith.

Their kindling power our souls confess:
Though dead, they speak to-day:
How great the cloud of witnesses
Encompassing our way!

Through every race, in every clime,
One song shall yet be heard;
Move onward in thy course sublime,
O everlasting Word!

—Frederick L. Hosmer.

The Joy of Life

XXIII.

Slowly the curtain rose. A deep, blue haze enveloped the stage. Through it there could be discerned the shadowy outlines of three large objects, from which there was pouring forth a deluge of music. Rhythmical it was, in cadence as unbroken as the guttural purrings of a high powered motor. And there was force back of it—relentless, brazen, obtrusive; while that unslacked machine-like dispensation gave the impression of efficiency, competence, power. Slowly the mist rose, and the three bulky bodies were revealed. They were pianos—grands, lined up in a diagonal line. And at each there sat a man, ponderous in weight, with head bent low over the keys. Now high, now low, the music sawed back and forth as those fat hands moved up and down over their respective boards. Yet all the while one got the impression, not of art, not of beauty, but of might, of power, of ability to put forth at any speed and in any volume. Those three men moved as one, to the right, to the left; and those hands, fat hands, with unfailing accuracy, raced desperately across the keys. Were they artists, those figures seated at that row of pianos?

Burly, competently defiant they sat, their eyes riveted on their instruments. So many moves were necessary within a certain given space of time, and to the accurate execution of those moves all attention centered. No smile lit their faces, no token of inner response to a creation of beauty. No, they were playing notes, hammering them off on schedule time with mechanical efficiency, but with the lifeless indifference of a printer feeding a press, or a farmer his thrasher. For them it was work, that type of work in which the human factor is subordinated to the demands of the machine. The dispensing of their allotted notes was their sole concern. Why were they playing? To earn a living. Who wrote the composition? It did not matter. What thought or feeling was the composer desirous of expressing? They cared not. The notes were there. They must be played, and played accurately. That was all that mattered. Thus, on they raced, without a tear, without a smile; as expressionless as automatons—employees earning their daily bread.

Suddenly the pianos were illuminated. From within each shot forth rays of red.

The music continued, now high, now low; now soft, now loud, in even cadence and with undiminished redundancy. Was there art in its construction? If so the method of presentation demolished it. Daintiness and beauty were crushed by the immensity of the vehicle through which expression was being given. Only one effect was registered on the listener—speed and force; the feeling of might and mass; the ability to smash through whole regiments of notes and come out with machines unimpaired.

And they called it "syncopation."

As the curtain fell I turned to my companion, and apologized: "Please do not mistake this for America. You have seen here only the Philistine, with his philosophy that if a little is good, more is better."

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

Great Britain and the Arab

T. Rhondda Williams reports that in England it is estimated that for every Arab man, woman and child, Great Britain has spent three times as much money as she spends for the elementary education of a British child.

Shibley Jamal, the Honorary Secretary of the Palestine Arab delegation in an article in the *Arbitrator*, of London, publishes the fact that Great Britain is keeping up an army of 7000 in that country in which Turkey formerly kept only 500. The attempt fostered by Great Britain to establish Jewish colonies seems to the Arabs to controvert the promise made by Great Britain to the Arabs in 1915 of the "reconstruction of the Arab nation, and as far as possible of the restoration of Arab influence and authority in the conquered provinces." The efforts of Zionists however is to make Palestine a national home, to render it as Dr. Weizman, their leader says, "as Jewish as England is English."

The British government has recently drawn up a constitution for the government of the Arabs in Palestine with the underlying idea that it is a Crown Colony. The Arabs claim that this leaves them practically powerless. It provides for a High Commissioner with powers beyond that of any constitutional monarch. He appoints ten of the 25 commissioners and with the Jews can control enough of the remainder to have a majority. No measure can become law without the consent of this High Commissioner.

Compare these restrictions with article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which refers to "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire whose existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone." One sees that the appointment of a High Commissioner over one of these who has "the right to deport any person without trial if in his opinion that person is dangerous to the state," is very far from granting what the Arabs felt they had a right to expect. However, feeling that Great Britain was disinterested, the Arabs admit that they might have been satisfied with this semblance of self-government were not thousands of alien immigrants, many of them saturated with Bolshevism, being forced upon them. Says this highly intelligent Arab, "Nothing will satisfy the Arabs of Palestine but an Administration that will safeguard their national interests, that will stop the immigration of aliens until a regularly constituted body has created immigration laws and a law of nationality and give a large measure of self-government to the constitutionally elected representatives of the people."

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Orient

Tokutomi's "Japanese-American Relations"[1] has caused a fluttering in the dovecot. Many readers feel that he is making an attack upon the United States, that he has an unfriendly spirit. The nature of the book may easily be misunderstood. Though it is clearly stated that this is but part of a general discussion of the relations of the world and Japan after the great war, most readers are certain to think of it as a special treatise upon its subject. As one in a series of essays in which the relations of Japan to the various leading nations were discussed, it is mild, moderate and entirely sane; taken alone, as in this translation, it seems at times severe and hostile. It is, however, time that we should know how our own envenomed and hostile attitude strikes others. Tokutomi is a man of significance, editor of a prominent and influential newspaper in Tokyo, "Japan's foremost literary critic," member of the House of Peers, and a serious student of public affairs. He is not anti-American, but desires only the most friendly relations between the two countries. He believes, however, that frankness is necessary, that complaisance and politeness may be carried too far, that nothing is gained by blinking facts. His book was written for Japanese; it was addressed to them and intended for them. There was no particular reason to anticipate that it would be translated into English. Our author starts with the simple question—"are we pro-American or anti-American?" Presumably he has a similar query in his series regarding each of the other nations—"are we (Japanese) pro-British, pro-French, pro-Italian, pro-German?" Of course, Japan should be primarily Japanese, and not pro-anything else. As a matter of fact Japanese have always, to an extraordinary and inexcusable degree, been pro-American. Through seventy years there has been a tendency to over-state and over-admire American wealth, power, prosperity, intelligence, idealism, goodness—and this over-admiration has led to under-appreciation and despisal of Japan herself. This is your reviewer's statement—not Tokutomi's. He, however, believes that this attitude tends to produce some of the misunderstanding that really exists between the two nations. Thus, in speaking of the groups of Japanese who are responsible for this misunderstanding, he says: "First—The so-called pro-American Japanese, who always assent to anything or everything Americans say or do. Second—those anti-Japanese Japanese, who do not understand even their own country, where they were born and reared, who look upon their own country with the eyes of a foreigner, and who take and interpret everything Japanese always from its worst aspect, and always magnify or exaggerate in their private and public utterances any fault or wrong of their own country." The groups overlap and many pro-American are also anti-Japanese Japanese. The fact is that in her controversies with us Japan sometimes yields far more than she should. She does it believing we will understand that it is done to show her desire for our friendship. She is mistaken in so believing. We look upon her yielding as an admission of error, and at once look to see where to make our next attack. Mr. Tokutomi, like most thoughtful Japanese, would do everything reasonable to gain and hold it. But he is not an indiscriminate admirer of us, nor is he prepared to do all the yielding. He believes, quite justly, that there should be mutual forbearance and that agreement should be reached by mutual concession. He attempts to give a fair analysis of our character, our ambitions and our attitudes. He traces the past relations between the two countries and clearly states the points now at issue. He ventures some ideas regarding the future. At the close of his discussion he says:

> The Japanese are by nature a peaceful nation. They do not fall short of endurance, when compared with that of any people in the world. And they have the moral courage to tread in the path of righteousness without fear. Unless America by any means should abuse and put to a severe test this moral courage of the Japanese people, the relations between Japan and America will be safe and peaceful. We do not expect much from the Americans. If they are really a Christian nation, we wish them only to recollect the precept of Christ—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you"—and apply it practically to the international dealings between Japan and America. This is the essence required for maintaining everlasting peace between the two countries.

Mr. High's point of view regarding China is clearly stated at the beginning of his book.[2] He there quotes Jan Christian Smuts:

> Our temptation is still to look on the European stage as of first importance. It is no longer so. Undoubtedly the scene has shifted from Europe to the Far East and to the Pacific. . . . The problems of the Pacific, are, to my mind, the world problems of the next 50 years or more. . . . There, I believe, the next great chapter in human history is to be written.

The book closes with alternative pictures of how China and the United States "will face each other across the constantly narrowing Pacific a century hence," which depends upon the statesmanship of 1921. On the one hand he sees a struggle in which

> there will be little quarter and less idealism. . . . The issue of the conflict will be the death of civilization itself, and none will care to live, for nothing worth living for will have been spared.

On the other hand:

> a century hence, when China and America face each other, it will be as the allied representatives of a common idealism—the Great Republic of Asia and the Great Republic of the West united for the perpetuation of Christian Democracy.

We challenge Mr. High's right to limit us to two alternatives. There are other possibilities—many of them. There might even be one in which a normal Oriental Buddhist monarchy might face a Californian republic, which had learned to respect the rights of others and to realize that difference is not necessarily crime. Between his initial quotation and his concluding alternatives, Mr. High presents a thoughtful and sympathetic discussion of the interests that exist between China and the United States and of the great movements now taking place in China. Our author is not a missionary—in fact, we believe he is an aeronaut—but he has the missionary point of view and his friends and companions, his authorities and quoted sources, are almost exclusively Methodist missionary. When he gets beyond them, he is even at a loss as to names. (Thus the well known Mr. Simpson here appears as B. Putnam Weales.) The Methodist missionary in China is not a bad source. He is sympathetic, optimis-

[1] "Japanese-American Relations." Iichiro Tokutomi. New York: 1922. The Macmillan Co. 16mo, pp. 207.

[2] "China's Place in the Sun." Stanley High. New York: 1922. The Macmillan Co. 16mo; pp. xxxiii, 212.

tic, virile, with an enthusiastic admiration for the Chinese—who when they become thoroughly Methodized may be depended upon to astonish, perhaps to lead, the world. The book, by its size and popular style, will secure a reading from many who might not attack Tyan's "China Awakened."

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard is again disturbed. In his "Rising Tide of Color" he saw a menace to white supremacy; now, in "The Revolt against Civilization,"[3] he sees a menace to aristocracy. In a sense he was right both times. His present fears are based on the fact that the masses are not able to carry the burden of civilization. There are a few men at the top, and many men below. The men below fail to see and appreciate the advantages of staying down below and carrying the superior few in the high state of luxury and comfort to which they were born or have risen. This socio-economic fact is one thing; there is another, which grows out of, and is related to, the conditions described and discussed in Stoddard's earlier book. There are fair whites and dark whites. As the supremacy of the white race is threatened by the growing consciousness of the colored races that they are being tutored and exploited for the benefit of the white race, so cleavage is inevitable between white men. There are Jews and Gentiles; there are Protestants and Catholics; there are profiteers and "fleeced"; there are those to whom "civilization" brings wealth, luxury and lordship—there are others to whom it means poverty, misery and servitude. It is a situation which can not last. It can only be remedied by a prompt decision as to values. To Mr. Stoddard the things represented by industrialism and commerce are the desirables: to him civilization is exemplified by flying machines, automobiles, telephones, utilization of resources to exhaustion, British trade, industry that keeps the lower classes and the dark peoples so constantly employed that they have no time to complain or to be restive. That a few fair-whites—tall, dolichocephalic, of piratical instincts, hungry for wealth, avid for power—should direct, while a swarm of "alpines" should demonstrate the nobility of labor by unceasing industry in shops, and a gang of "mediterraneans" should apply their artistic tendencies to digging of drains and construction of railroads is the ideal condition which should be perpetuated at all costs. Mr. Stoddard is quite right in seeing that his ideal of civilization is threatened and that the danger is imminent. The remedy for the situation, the destruction of the perils, both from color and the inferior masses, lies in two directions. We must develop a form of civilization which *can* be carried by the masses, for any civilization if it is to last *must* be carried by the masses, and can never be beyond their carrying power. The fair whites must deal with the peoples of color with a full recognition of the respectability of difference, and with some appreciation of their ideals.

In a series of six essays, on a considerable range of subjects, Dr. Krishna expresses some of his views upon world problems.[4] The subjects are American Inspirations, The Press, Peace, Happiness, The Religion of Humanity, Prosperity. In the leading essay of the book, the author pays a high tribute to American ideals, which he feels have furnished inspirations to the world. Not that he finds us perfect, or refrains from pointing out inconsistencies and advising improvements, but he sees much to admire and seems to find hope for the future. He claims that the very nature of our holidays gives a glimpse of our national psychology. It is really an inspiring list with Mothers' Day, Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Decoration Day, Labor Day and Thanksgiving. They are examined one by one and in each one is found some basis for encouragement and hope. Will we adhere to the things they represent and typify? "Will America follow the inspirations of her fathers—and try to Lincolnize the world, or will she continue to fall deeper and deeper into the trap of Imperialistic Europe?" We have read all of the essays, but the author seems to us at his best in "The Press." He examines the character of the writers, the editors, the owners, of the great newspapers and finds them companionable fellows, personably admirable. He sees the possibilities of the Press for good, for moulding and directing thought, for encouraging reforms, for destroying wrongs. He finds the achievement far short of the possibility—nay, he finds the influence of the Press harmful and corrupting. There are glaring inconsistencies, which are at first sight inexplicable. We never hear the really *most* important news; we hear only what is to the advantage of certain interests. Is not the Press subject to some sinister, concealed, influence? Krishna believes so. He says:

> . . . modern journalism is a part of the great trust known as International Finance. John Bull is behind that trust, hence the British-imperialistic, Wilson-democratic and Harding-republican press is served and fed by the same news-making, news-distributing and news-suppressing source.

Dr. Krishna is optimistic, after all. He looks forward with hope. In every one of his essays there are things which are calculated to cause us a feeling of despondency, but he anticipates an era of peace and progress.

FREDERICK STARR.

[3] "The Revolt Against Civilization." Lothrop Stoddard. New York: 1922. Charles Scribner's Sons. 16mo, pp. (iii) 274.

[4] "American Inspirations and World Problems." N. Krishna. Chicago (1922). The Oriental and Occidental Forum. 16mo, pp. 188.

CORRESPONDENCE

News from Hungary

[EDITORIAL NOTE: The following letter from the Prime Minister of Hungary to our editorial colleague, Mr. Fred Hankinson, now on relief duty in Buda-Pest, has been sent to us for publication in America. We congratulate Mr. Hankinson on the great and noble work that he is doing.]

Ministerelnök.
Prime Minister of Hungary.

Dear Mr. Hankinson:

The collapse consequent upon the, for us, so fatal world war, the revolutions, the Bolshevist rule, the Roumanian occupation that followed in the wake of it brought Hungary to the brink of ruin. Distress and starvation became rampant, and reduced to economic and financial impotency, the Government could not by their own effort find the means of succor. Hungarian society had to be appealed to, but it was charity from abroad we were largely dependent on. For the tasks to be accomplished were tremendous. We had to heal the wounds inflicted by the war, remove the débris, stop the onward march of ruin, calm the despairing, instill faith in the faint-hearted.

In this reconstructive work we were faced by countless obstacles, when foreign countries with their magnificent organizations reached forth their helping arms and enabled us to tend our soldiers and disabled, repatriate our prisoners of war, clothe our ragged, feed our starving, cure our sick, give work to our unemployed, nourish our infants, aid the refugees from occupied territories.

For this philanthropic support from abroad Hungary feels, of course, deep gratitude towards all nations and thus towards England and America also, whose sympathy found such an

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

POLITICAL PRISONERS

(*Concluded.*)

What They Stand For.

In an Open Letter to the President, 52 members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth penitentiary answer Mr. Harding's expressed "surprise" that any man should be unwilling to justify his innocence by making application for individual clemency. Describing themselves as "workingmen conscious of our position in society and guilty only of championing the cause of the class to which we belong," they set forth their reasons for such refusal, together with their economic and social philosophy.

STATING THEIR OWN CASE. "We are not criminals and not in prison because we committed crimes or conspired to commit them—the truth of our case (has been) withheld from the public. We have been surrounded continuously by a network of false accusations—crimes never mentioned during our trials are charged against us. We were 'framed up' by the newspapers and business interests. We are innocent of any crime or intent to commit crime."

"Our conviction was obtained upon a narrow margin of legal interpretation at a time when sane judgment was impossible. * * * In the capitalistic newspaper, the I. W. W. is like the Mexican in a movie show; he is always the villain."

"Technically, we are not behind the bars for hindering the government's prosecution of the war. No overt act of this kind was charged against us nor proved. We are charged with conspiring to hinder the war by means of spoken and printed words. This is the charge, but the truth is that we are in prison for recognizing the irrefutable fact of the class struggle and for advocating the solidarity of labor."

"We believe in and uphold civil liberty because we are convinced that only through open and free discussion can the right idea prevail. Ideals are matters which cannot be altered by force. We claim that the honest convictions of the human mind cannot be caged with iron bars; we claim that the stream of human progress cannot be damned with prison walls."

"We know that we are now in prison solely for exercising the constitutional right of free speech at a time when discretion might have been the better part of altruism. If it is a crime to exercise the right for which our fathers laid down their lives, then we have no apology to offer. Free speech has always been the one thing we have prized above all others. * * * We cannot bring ourselves to make application for clemency because we wish to avoid being forced into action that would make hypocrites of us all.

"Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to be purchased at the price of principle. We feel we owe it to the loyal men and women outside of these walls who still believe in freedom of speech, assemblage and the press, to remain steadfast. * * * We cannot do otherwise than refuse to recant. We must continue to refuse to beg for a pardon, which in common justice ought to have been accorded to us long ago."

"Insignificant as we are and little as we count in the universal scheme of things, the ideals that we stand for are not insignificant. They are big and dynamic. * * * It matters little what happens to us, but if the American people lose the right of free speech, the loss will be irreparable.

"There are other reasons, too, why we must decline to make individual application for clemency. We were not convicted as individuals but as a group. We were convicted of a 'conspiracy' of which we are all equally innocent or all equally guilty. We believe that it would be a base act for us to sign individual applications and leave the Attorney General's office to select which of our members should remain in prison and which should go free."

"* * * We prefer to stand together as a group, just as we were convicted."

"We serve notice upon the men who directed our inquisition that their medieval methods of seeking to change the convictions of human minds by force have failed. If it is their intention to keep us in prison until we admit we are wrong about those things, they might as well throw away the keys at once. They will never need them."

ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR. "We did not look upon the war in Europe with approval, but at the same time we did not elect to advise our members not to register nor to desert, nor to be mutinous or disloyal. Such a procedure by reason of its recklessness and obvious futility, would have endangered the very existence of our organization. It happens that such interpretations were tortured out of our publications and records, but only at the expense of truth and fair-dealing.

"Our 'conspiracy' to oppose the war consisted in pointing out the economic causes of all wars and in showing that unemployment, reaction and misery invariably follow in their own wake. We tried to show that war, in spite of all that has been said about its noble purposes and beneficial results, usually results in making the rich richer and the poor poorer."

"Members of the I. W. W. were advised (in our weekly newspaper *Solidarity*) to register, but to register 'I. W. W. opposed to war.' This was done in order to record a moral protest against what we conceived to be the inevitable onrush toward world disaster. Further than this expression of disapproval, we committed no act that could possibly be construed as criminal or 'overt.'"

"We did not rashly seek to array our feeble strength against the colossal sweep of the world's conflagration. No matter how sharp our disapproval nor how clearly we saw the ruin and devastation it would bring, we were not so foolish as to imagine that we could stop the war. We felt we had done all in our power by stating the truth as we saw it."

THEIR IDEALS. "It is true that the admittedly small membership of the I. W. W. and its elected officials were opposed to capitalistic wars as a matter of general principle. Both the officials and the rank-and-file were endeavoring to build, in their modest way, a civilization in which war and human exploitation were impossible. To this end, our efforts were unceasingly directed.

"We believed in 1917 and we believe now that the present social and economic order is wasteful, planless, chaotic and criminal. We are frankly dissatisfied with this arrangement of things, which we call capitalism. We seek to replace it with a well-ordered and scientifically managed system in which the actual producers will own, democratically control and have access to the earth and machinery of production, carrying on the production of goods for the benefit of many instead of the enrichment of the few.

"We want to help build up a system of society without class hatreds or class struggles—without any classes at all—a system wherein social parasitism and exploitation of man by man will be forever impossible. We believe this system will be one of productive co-operation instead of commercial competition, and that workingmen, farmers and engineers can so order the world that the only distinctions between various groups of human beings will be those of culture, personality, refinement and the ability to serve the common good. We are striving, in short, to build up a civilization worthy of the intelligence of man.

"We believe this change to be inevitable,—the next step in the evolution of human society. Five years of brutal persecution have not changed our convictions about these things in the least."

Public Opinion.

THE SECULAR PRESS. Some strong dailies, notably the Philadelphia *Public*

---

imposing manifestation in the assistance which they tendered us in our distressed situation.

In this noble work you, Mr. Hankinson, as a delegate of a Relief Mission, also showed exemplary zeal and unselfishness. Allow me therefore to thank you and the League which you represented, most heartily, in the name of the Hungarian Nation and government alike, first of all for the invaluable support granted to our refugees from the formerly Hungarian territories. Welcoming you most cordially at your return I beg to assure you that in the future we shall appreciate your philanthropic activity just as much as we did in the past.

Budapest, on the 15th November, 1922.

Bethlén mp.
Prime Minister.

The French Army

Dear Editor: January 4, 1923.

An old friend of mine, a well informed German pacifist, writes me as follows:

France now has admitted that she has 38,700 officers and 690,000 soldiers under arms. This is more than Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Spain combined. Italy has 13,711 officers and 175,000 soldiers under arms.

America can impose peace on Europe by insisting on the payment of all debts unless the treaties are revised, disarmament has been taken up and a true, genuine and sincere policy of peace is adopted.

Very truly yours,
DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Ledger and Chicago *Tribune* have published false reports. Others, as New York *World* and New York *Evening Post*, and all the Hearst and Scripps papers, have editorially criticized the policy of the Administration and have endorsed general amnesty.

THE CHURCH PRESS. Among others, *Christian Work, Zion's Herald, The Churchman* and *The Christian Century*, have carried strong editorial pleas for amnesty.

CHURCH BODIES. The Federal Council of Churches, and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council have consistently urged general amnesty; resolutions in behalf of amnesty have been passed by the Rock River, Colorado, and Puget Sound Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, by the Chicago and Boston Church Federations.

OTHER EFFORTS. The ceaseless work of such bodies as the American Civil Liberties Union and the General Defense Committee have been supplemented by the activities of many other organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, the Society of Friends, and the World War Veterans.

SOURCE MATERIAL. *Survey Graphic*, October, 1922, article by Pierce C. Wetter, "The Men I Left at Leavenworth."

"An Open Letter to President Harding from 52 members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth Penitentiary."

"The Truth About the I. W. W. Prisoners" and other publications of American Civil Liberties Union.

News Service of the Federal Council of Churches; National Catholic Welfare Council; General Defense Committee; The Church press.

This Bulletin brings down to date the situation discussed in our issue of March, 1921. We then asked what influence the churches could and should exert in the matter in view of their declaration regarding liberty of conscience.

Have you done anything?

What is needed is direct communications to the President.

—*The Social Service Bulletin.*

It's a "Case" of Necessity

Your Printing will be above criticism if done by

THE OAKLAND PRESS

728 E. 39th Street
Phone Douglas 244

THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

Offers a comprehensive and modern training to candidates for the liberal ministry at a minimum of expenditure. Summer quarter for the entire school at the University of Chicago. Excellent dormitory both at Meadville and Chicago. Unusual library facilities. Free tuition. Nominal dormitory charge. Liberal scholarships for competent students both at Chicago and Meadville. Traveling Fellowship of $1,000 *for a graduate of high standing.*

Next quarter begins at Meadville, March 28

For information apply to the President,

REV. F. C. SOUTHWORTH, D.D., Meadville, Pa.

WRIGHT & COMPANY

STEAM—DOMESTIC

COAL

TELEPHONE WABASH 5028

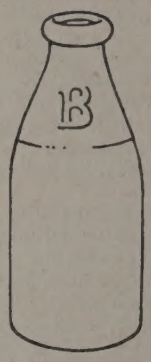
Main Office:
28 E. Jackson Blvd.
CHICAGO

Phone Oakland 489 JANITORS' SUPPLIES

Everything in HARDWARE

AT

PORTER'S
4236 Cottage Grove Ave.



A Delicious "Bracer"

A glass of cool, sweet BOWMAN'S MILK taken between meals keeps you going full speed.

It satisfies your hunger—without dulling your appetite.

BOWMAN DAIRY Company

The Blakely-Oswald Printing Co.

PRINTERS and BINDERS

Telephone Wabash 3854 120-124 W. Polk St., CHICAGO

DREXEL State Bank

Cottage Grove Ave. *and* Oakwood Blvd.

Thirty-two years of conservative banking, combined with service and courtesy for every depositor —large or small—is the record of this bank . . . . . .

Your savings and checking account cordially invited

Resources Six and one-half Million Dollars

Schumann & Company

Cleaners of

Fancy Gowns and Kid Gloves

Having winter garments cleaned before storing them will keep out moth

Phone Drexel 0231
All Departments

MAIN OFFICE AND WORK:
3054 Cottage Grove Avenue

Subscribe for UNITY! *$3.00 the Year.*